

## J. Q. ADAMS' SPEECH.

Concluded from 1st page.

Rio del Norte, in the event of a war with Great Britain? Sir, the reasons of Mr. Monroe for accepting the Sabine as the boundary were three. First, he had no confidence in the strength of our claim as far as the Rio Bravo; secondly, he thought it would make our union so heavy, that it would break into fragments by its own weight; thirdly, he thought it would protrude a long line of sea coast, which, in our first war with Great Britain, she might take into her own possession, and which we should be able neither to defend nor to recover. At that time there was no question of slavery or of abolition involved in the controversy. The country belonged to Spain; it was a wilderness, and slavery was the established law of the land. There was then no project for carrying out nine slave States, to hold eighteen seats in the other wing of this capitol, in the triangle between the mouths and the sources of the Mississippi and Bravo rivers. But what was our claim?—Why it was that La Salle, having discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, and France having made a settlement at New Orleans, France had a right to one half the sea coast from the mouth of the Mississippi to the next Spanish settlement, which was Vera Cruz. The mouth of the Rio Bravo was about half way from the Balize to Vera Cruz; and so as grantees, from France of Louisiana, we claimed to the Rio del Norte, though the Spanish settlement of Santa Fe was at the head of that river. France, from whom we had received Louisiana, utterly disclaimed ever having even raised such a pretension. Still we made the best of the claim that we could, and finally yielded it for the Floridas, and for the line of the 42d degree of latitude from the source of the Arkansas river to the South sea. Such was our claim; and you may judge how much confidence Mr. Monroe could have in its validity. The great object and desire of the country then was to obtain the Floridas. It was General Jackson's desire; and in that conference with me to which I have heretofore alluded, and which it is said he does not recollect he said to me that so long as the Florida rivers were not in our possession, there could be no safety for our whole Southern country.

But, sir, suppose you should annex Texas to these United States; another year would not pass before you would have to engage in a war for the conquest of the Island of Cuba. What is now the condition of that island? Still under the nominal protection of Spain. And what is the condition of Spain herself? Consuming her own vitals in a civil war for the succession to the crown. Do you expect, that whatever may be the issue of that war, she can retain even the nominal possession of Cuba? After having lost all her continental colonies in North and South America, Cuba will stand in need of more efficient protection; and above all, the protection of a naval power. Suppose that naval power should be Great Britain. There is Cuba at your very door; and if you spread yourself along a naked coast, from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo, what will be your relative position towards Great Britain, with not only Jamaica, but Cuba, and Porto Rico in her hands, and abolition for the motto to her union cross of St. George and Saint Andrew? Mr. Chairman, do you think I am treading on fantastic grounds? Let me tell you a piece of history, not far remote. Sir, many years have not passed away since an internal revolution in Spain subjected that country and her king for a short time to the momentary government of the Cortes. That revolution was followed by another, by which, under the auspices of a French army with the Duke d'Angouleme at their head, Ferdinand the Seventh was restored to a despotic throne; Cuba had followed the fortunes of the Cortes when they were crowned with victory, and when the counter revolution came, the inhabitants of the island, uncertain what was to be their destination, were for some time in great perplexity what to do for themselves. Two considerable parties arose in the island, one of which was for placing it under the protection of Great Britain, and another for annexing it to the confederation of these United States. By one of these parties I have reason to believe that overtures were made to the Government of Great Britain. By the other I know that overtures were made to the Government of the United States. And I further know that secret, though irresponsible assurances were communicated to the then President of the United States, as coming from the French Government, that they were secretly informed that the British Government had determined to take possession of Cuba. Whether similar overtures were made to France herself, I do not undertake to say; but that Mr. George Canning, then the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was under no inconsiderable alarm, lest under the pupillage of the Duke d'Angouleme, Ferdinand the Seventh might commit to the commander of a French naval squadron the custody of the Moro Castle, is a circumstance also well known to me. It happened that just about that time a French squadron of considerable force was fitted out and received sailing orders for the West Indies, without formal communication of the fact to the British Government; and that as soon as it was made known to him, he gave orders to the British Ambassador at Paris to demand, in the most peremptory tone, what was the destination of that squadron, and a special and positive disclaimer that it was intended even to visit the Havans; and this was made the occasion of mutual explanations by which Great Britain, France, and the United States, not by the formal solemnity of a treaty, but by the implied engage-

ment of mutual assurances of intention, gave pledges of honor to each other, that neither of them should in the then condition of the island take it, or the Moro Castle, as its citadel, from the possession of Spain. This engagement was on all sides faithfully performed; but, without it, who doubts that from that day to this either of the three Powers might have taken the island and held it in undisputed possession?

At this time circumstances have changed—popular revolutions both in France and Great Britain, have perhaps curbed the spirit of conquest in Great Britain, and France may have enough to do to govern her kingdom of Algiers. But Spain is again convulsed with a civil war for the succession of her crown; she has irretrievably lost all her colonies on both continents of America. It is impossible that she should hold out much longer a shadow of dominion over the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico; nor can those islands, in their present condition, form independent nations, capable of protecting themselves. They must for ages remain at the mercy of Great Britain or of these United States, or of both; Great Britain is even now about to interfere in this war for the Spanish succession. If by the utter imbecility of the Mexican confederacy this revolt of Texas should lead immediately to its separation from that Republic, and its annexation to the United States, I believe it impossible that Great Britain should look on while this operation is performing with indifference. She will see that it must shake her own whole colonial power on this continent, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Caribbean Seas, like an earthquake; she will see, too, that it endangers her own abolition of slavery in her own colonies. A war for the restoration of slavery where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten her with imminent danger of a war of colors in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and of Porto Rico, by cession from Spain or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you, in return, by what authority you have extended your sea coast from the Sabine to Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing, namely—by what authority you, with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new manacles and fetters, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of men. She will carry emancipation and abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapors of oppression, and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye will be the blood-stained stripes of the task master.

Mr. Chairman, are you ready for all these wars? A Mexican war? a war with Great Britain, if not with France? a general Indian war? a servile war?—and, as an inevitable consequence of them all, a civil war? For it must ultimately terminate in a war of colors as well as of races. And do you imagine that while with your eyes open you are wilfully kindling, and then closing your eyes and blindly rushing into them; do you imagine that while, in the nature of things, your own Southern and Southwestern States must be the Flanders of these complicated wars, the battle field upon which the last great conflict must be fought between slavery and emancipation; do you imagine that your Congress will have no constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery in any way in the States of this confederacy? Sir, they must and will interfere with it—perhaps to sustain it by war; perhaps to abolish it by treaties of peace; and they will not only possess the constitutional power so to interfere, but they will be bound in duty to do it by the express provisions of the Constitution itself. From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way by which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the session of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.

Sir, it is by virtue of this same war power, as now brought into exercise by this Indian war in Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, that I vote for the resolution before the committee. By virtue of this, I have already voted in the course of this session to increase your standing army by a second regiment of dragoons, to authorize your President to accept the services of ten thousand volunteers, and to appropriate millions of the public money to suppress these Indian hostilities—all for the common defence, all for the general welfare. And if, on this occasion, I have been compelled to avail myself of the opportunity to assign my reasons for voting against the first resolution reported by the slavery committee, it is because it was the pleasure of a majority of the House this morning to refuse me the permission to assign my reasons for my vote, when the question was put upon those resolutions themselves.

Sir, it is a melancholy contemplation to me, and raises fearful forebodings in my mind when I consider the manner in which that Report and those Resolutions have been disposed of by the House. I have twice asked permission of this House to offer two resolutions calling for information from the President upon subjects of infinite importance to this question of slavery, to our relations with Mexico, and to the peace of the country. When I last made the attempt, a majority of the House voted by yeas and nays to suspend the rules to enable me to offer one of the two resolutions—but the majority not amounting to two thirds, my resolution has not yet obtained from the House the favor of

being considered. Had it been the pleasure of the House to indulge the call, or to allow me the privilege of assigning my reasons for my vote on the resolution this morning, the remarks that I have now made might have been deemed more appropriate to those topics of discussion, than to the question more immediately now before the committee. They are reflections, however, which I deem it not less indispensable to make than they are painful to be made—extorted from me by a condition of public affairs unexampled in the history of this country. Heretofore, calls upon the Executive Department for information, such as that which I have proposed to make, were considered as among the rights of the members of this House, which it was scarcely deemed decent to resist. A previous question, smothering all discussion upon resolutions reported by a committee, affecting the vital principles of the Constitution, moved by one of the members who reported the resolutions, and sustained by the members of that committee itself, is an occurrence which never before happened in the annals of this Government. The adoption of those resolutions of the House had not even been moved. Upon the mere question whether an extra number of the report of the committee should be printed, a member moves the recommitment of the report, with instructions to report a new resolution. On this motion the previous question is moved, and the Speaker declares that the main question is not on the motion to recommit, not on the motion to print an extra number of copies of the report, but upon the adoption of three resolutions, reported, but never even moved in the House. If this is to be the sample of our future legislation, it is time to awake from the delusion that freedom of speech is among the rights of the members of the minority of this House.

To return, Mr. Chairman, to the resolution before the committee. I shall vote for this application of money, levied by taxation upon my constituents, to feed the suffering and starving fugitives from Indian desperation and revenge. How deeply searching in the coffers of your Treasury this operation will ultimately be, no man can at this time foretell. The expenditure authorized by this resolution may be not in itself very considerable;—but in its progress it has already stretched from Alabama to Georgia—how much further it will extend, will be seen hereafter. I turn my eyes away from the prospect of it now; but am prepared to meet the emergency, if it should come, with all the resources of the Treasury.

But, sir, I shall not vote for this relief to the suffering inhabitants of Alabama, and of Georgia, upon the ground on which the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Lewis) and the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Thompson) have been disposed to place it. Little reason have the inhabitants of Georgia and of Alabama to complain that the Government of the United States has been remiss or neglectful in protecting them from Indian hostilities;—the fact is directly the reverse. The people of Alabama and Georgia are now suffering the recoil of their own unlawful weapons. Georgia, sir, Georgia, by trampling upon the faith of our national treaties with the Indian tribes, and by subjecting them to her State laws, first set the example of that policy which is now in the process of consummation by this Indian war. In setting this example, she bade defiance to the authority of the Government of the nation; she nullified your laws; she set at naught your executive and judiciary guardians of the common Constitution of the land. To what extent she carried this policy, the dungeons of her prisons and the records of the Supreme Judicial Court of the United States can tell. To those prisons she committed inoffensive, innocent, pious ministers of the Gospel of Truth, for carrying the light, the comforts, and the consolations of that Gospel to the hearts and minds of those unhappy Indians. A solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced that act a violation of your treaties and of your laws. Georgia defied that decision: your Executive Government never carried it into execution; the imprisoned missionaries of the Gospel were compelled to purchase their ransom from perpetual captivity by sacrificing their rights as freemen to the meekness of their principles as Christians; and you have sanctioned all these outrages upon justice, law, and humanity, by succumbing to the power and the policy of Georgia, by accommodating your legislation to her arbitrary will; by tearing to tatters your old treaties with the Indians, and by constraining them, under *peine forte et dure*, to the mockery of signing other treaties with you, which, at the first moment when it shall suit your purpose, you will again tear to tatters and scatter to the four winds of Heaven, till the Indian race shall be extinct upon this continent, and it shall become a problem beyond the solution of antiquaries and historical societies what the red man of the forest was.

This, sir, is the remote and primitive cause of the present Indian war; your own injustice, sanctioning and sustaining that of Georgia and Alabama. This system of policy was first introduced by the present administration of your national government. It is directly the reverse of that system which had been pursued by all the preceding administrations of this government, under the present constitution. That system consisted in the most anxious and persevering efforts to civilize the Indians; to attach them to the soil upon which they lived; to enlighten their minds; to soften and humanize their hearts; to fix in permanency their habitations; and to turn them from the wandering and precarious pursuits of the hunter, to the tillage of the ground; to the cultivation of corn and cotton; to the comforts of the fire-side; to the delights of

home. This was the system of Washington and Jefferson, steadily pursued by all their successors, and to which all your treaties and all your laws of intercourse with the Indian tribes, were accommodated. The whole system is now broken up; and instead of it you have adopted that of expelling, by force or by compact, all the Indian tribes from their own territories and dwellings, to a region beyond the Mississippi, beyond the Missouri, beyond the Arkansas, bordering upon Mexico; and there you have deluded them with the hope that they will find a permanent abode—a final resting place from your never-ending rapacity and persecution. There you have undertaken to lead the willing and to drive the reluctant, by fraud or by force; by treaty or by the sword and the rifle; all the remnants of the Seminoles, of the Creeks, of the Cherokees, of the Choctaws, and of how many other tribes I cannot now stop to enumerate. In the process of this violent and heartless operation, you have met with all the resistance which men in so helpless a condition as that of the Indian tribes could make. Of the immediate cause of the war we are not yet fully informed; but I fear you will find them, like the remote causes, all attributable to yourselves. It is in the last agony of a people, forcibly torn and driven from the soil which they had inherited from their fathers, and which your own example, and exhortations, and instructions and treaties, had riveted more closely to their hearts; it is in the last convulsive struggles of their despair, that this war has originated; and if it brings with it some portion of the retributive justice of Heaven upon our own people, it is our duty to mitigate, as far as the public resources of the national treasury will permit, the distresses of the innocent of our own kindred and blood, suffering under the necessary consequences of our own wrong. I shall vote for the resolution.

[NOTE.—This speech was delivered without premeditation or notes. No report of it was made by any of the usual reporters for the newspapers. Mr. Adams has written it out himself from recollection, at the request of several of his friends, for publication. It is, of course, not in the precise language used by him in the House. There is some amplification of the arguments which he used, and, perhaps, some omissions which have escaped his recollection. The substance of the speech is the same.]

ACQUITTAL OF ROBINSON.—While public opinion is somewhat divided, though not to a very great extent, on the question of the guilt or innocence of young Robinson; and while few, if any, are satisfied with the manner in which the prosecution was conducted—there are two points on which there is no division of sentiment.—All admire the consummate talent of the defence, and all agree that whether guilty or not, the verdict of the jury was inevitable from the testimony before them. The maxim that it is better that ten guilty should escape than that a single innocent person should suffer, is as just as it is merciful.

But whether innocent of the crime laid to his charge, or guilty, the case of young Robinson should serve as a solemn warning, not only to the young, but to parents, guardians and employers. If innocent of the crime for which he has passed the terrible ordeal of the law, for life or death, he is nevertheless guilty of having entered, in the early bloom of youth, certainly before he had escaped the age of boyhood, upon a career of infamous debauchery, characteristic of bloated and full-grown depravity, rather than that of purity and innocence which we ought to expect in the fresh and sunny age just bordering upon puberty. Nor does he stand alone in his career of juvenile iniquity. Several of his associates—interesting youth not yet entered upon the theatre of manhood—have been compelled to stand up before the world's indignant gaze, and own themselves the regular inmates and visitors of brothels. Not only so, but from the preponderance of young men among the audience in daily attendance upon the trial, and their evident sympathies with those concerning whom these disclosures were made, it was too manifest that a state of morals exists among portions of our youth, as fearful in its extent as it is deep and black in its atrocity.

The lesson should be read and pondered alike by parents in the city and in the country, and also by those who have young men in their employ. That false ambition which but too many parents entertain, in the country, of taking their youthful sons from the farm or the workshop, and sending them to the city to become merchants, is one source of misfortune. Too often, moreover, are they sent hither without relations or guardians to look after them, at exactly the most dangerous point of their existence. Ignorant of the world—generous and confiding—curious, and susceptible of every new impression—they are anxious to see and learn the ways of the city in all its varieties—excepting those of the graver cast.—The hours of their clerkship over, their employers in but too many instances care no further for them, so that they are at their posts at the appointed hour in the morning. They seek for acquaintances and associations at those necessary evils, the *restaurants*. From thence they visit the theatres. Having few if any female acquaintances with whom to mingle—deprived of the mother's counsel, and the sweet and affectionate society of sisters, they fall within the charmed circle of the women of the town, whose seductive arts and blandishments are but too frequently exerted with a measure of success enough to make the angels weep.

From the theatre their next step is to the brothel. "With her much fair speech," says the wisest of men, "she caused him to yield; with the flattering of her lips she forced him. Yea, many strong men have been slain by her. Her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of

death." Such, three thousand years ago, was the inspired description of those dens of pollution, and the fate of those who frequent them.

To the patrons and upholders of theatres, especially, does this case come home, as one of solemn warning. To the theatres of this city, above all other places, is the iniquity that abounds to be traced.—We stop not to inquire what harmless and even valuable places of recreation, or of intellectual enjoyment they might be made. Our design is to speak of them as they are, in their existing condition of debasement. They are sinks of vice and pollution—houses of assignation and incipient prostitution—in four words, "the vestibules of hell."—[N. Y. Com. Ad.]

APPROPRIATIONS made at the last session of the legislature of New-York:  
Loan to the New-York & Erie rail road company, \$3,000,000  
Loan authorized for the construction of Black river canal, 1,000,000  
Loan authorized for Genesee Valley canal, 2,000,000  
Appropriated for locks on the Glens Falls feeder, 100,000  
Do, for making the locks on the Cayuga and Seneca canal of the width of the new locks on the Erie canal, (not yet estimated,) say, 50,000  
Additional loan for the Chenango canal, 260,000  
For purchasing water power on the Crooked Lake canal, say, 12,000  
For a towing path on the Seneca river, 4,000  
For a geological survey of the state, (\$26,000 for four years,) 104,000  
For the lunatic asylum, 60,000  
For the blind, 16,000  
For a bridge at Athol, Warren county, 4,000  
Total, \$6,610,000  
—Albany Argus.

CANAL TOLLS. The tolls collected on the New-York canals, for the week ending on the 21st May, amount to the sum of \$65,771 34—which, deducting Sunday, gives an average of \$10,961 87 per day.

The collections at Albany, during the whole month of May, for 1834, 1835 and 1836, are as follows, viz:

1834,	\$40,000
1835,	61,000
1836,	75,000

The excess of collections at the Albany office, in May, over the same month in 1835, is \$14,000.—*Ibid.*

CANALS IN THE UNITED STATES.—The Buffalo Journal, from imperfect data, estimates the number of miles of finished canals in the United States at 3,000, which are distributed among the several states as follows:

In Maine,	50 miles.
Massachusetts,	47
Massachusetts and R. Island,	45
Connecticut,	58
New-York,	678
N. York & Pennsylvania,	36
New-Jersey,	101
Pennsylvania,	857
Delaware and Maryland,	14
Maryland,	10
Maryland & Pennsylvania,	341
Ohio,	571
Virginia,	30
Virginia & N. Carolina,	22
Georgia,	66
Louisiana,	100

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT. The bill for the reorganization of the post office department, which has passed the house of representatives, and is now before the senate, makes the following allowances to the clerks, &c.

Ass't post masters general, each,	\$2,500
Chief clerk,	1,700
Three principal clerks, each,	1,400
Ten clerks, each,	1,200
Eight clerks, each,	800
Messenger,	700
Two additional messengers, each,	350
Two watchmen, each,	250
Auditor of the post office,	3,000
Chief clerk,	1,700
Four principal clerks, each,	1,400
Ten clerks, each,	1,200
Twenty clerks, each,	1,000
Eight clerks, each,	800
Messenger,	700
Two assistants, each,	450

SALES OF THE PUBLIC LANDS. The receipts into the United States treasury from the sales of the public lands, have been as follows—

1817	\$1,991,226	1827	\$1,494,815
1818	3,605,364	1828	1,018,303
1819	3,275,422	1829	1,517,175
1820	1,635,871	1830	2,329,356
1821	1,212,966	1831	3,201,815
1822	1,803,581	1832	2,623,331
1823	916,523	1833	3,069,682
1824	924,418	1834	4,887,620
1825	1,216,090	1835	14,757,600
1826	1,393,785		

Receipts 1st quarter, 1836, as reported by the secretary of the treasury, 5,439,640.

The government lands already sold, amount to 540,000,000 of acres. The amount surveyed and offered but not yet sold, is 119,259,728 acres. In addition to the above, the Indian title has been extinguished to more than 100,000,000 of acres not yet surveyed.

Whole amount of unsold lands to which the Indian title had been extinguished previous to 1832, 227,593,884 acres. Since the additions to that amount have exceeded the sales.

From the report made to the senate by Mr. Ewing, the amount received for sales

of the public domain in each state and territory, since 1776, has been as follows, up to the 1st of Jan. last.—Ohio \$16,780,177. Indiana, 9,510,481. Illinois 5,355,612. Missouri 3,886,224. Alabama 10,097,347. Mississippi 6,837,770. Louisiana 999,087. Michigan 3,956,896. Arkansas 636,642. Florida 556,283. Total—\$56,619,523.—*Niles.*

## TEMPERANCE HOUSE IN NEW-YORK CITY.

THE public are hereby notified that the Temperance House, 118, Williams-st., is open for the reception of such persons as may wish to test the utility of a plain diet, where wholesome bread, fruit and vegetables, and pure milk and water, shall always be provided at reasonable hours, and in a manner most conducive to health.

None need apply but such as prefer food "convenient for them, to the indulgence of a vitiated appetite."

None need apply whose moral characters are not correct, who keep irregular hours, or regard the Sabbath only as a day of pleasure or business. No baggage can go in or out on that day, and no bills paid.

Travellers from abroad, of a literary or religious character, shall find a quiet home, where books and papers will always be furnished, and where no noise of "wine-bibbers," or "riotous eaters of flesh," or the fumes of tobacco, shall ever intrude.

ASENATH NICHOLSON.

Temperance House, }  
April 20, 1836. }

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